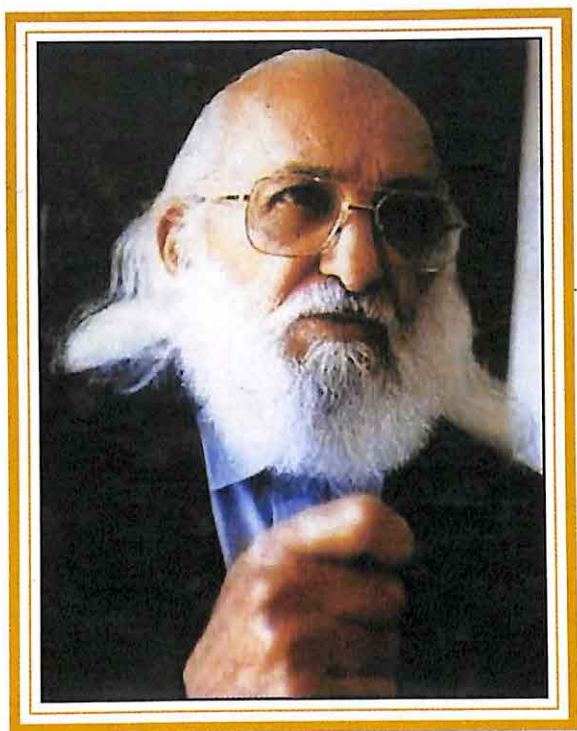


Paulo Freire

His Life, Work and Thought

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Indian Paulo Freire Institute

PAULO FREIRE :His Life, Work and Thought

JALADHAR MULLICK

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For my son
Jishnu

C O N T E N T S

<i>Preface</i>	6
<i>Foreward : Why should we continue reading Freire</i>	9
Early Life	15
An Educator in the Offing	20
Advent of a Novel Method of Literacy	26
Onslaught on Paulo Freire and His Method	28
Paulo Freire in Exile	33
Relearning Brazil	43
A Pedagogy for Liberation	50
Freirean Terminology	55
Notes	65
Books by Paulo Freire	69
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	72

PREFACE

Literacy may broadly be treated as a condition of being literate, both children and adults included. It is generally understood as a process of learning the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic for the purpose of achieving some specific defined goals, mostly limited in nature. There is also a common tendency to consider all kinds of literacy campaigns as a form of non-formal education. It is no denying to say that literacy encompasses the process of learning the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic but not solely with the purpose of achieving some compartmentalized limited goals. Yes, it is no doubt a form of non-formal education but not simply a supplementary part of the formal system of education. In a developing country like India where various forms of oppressions and divisions exist owing to historical reasons, literacy in this country could not be just a process of learning the skills of reading, writing and arithmetic only but should also be a weapon for the liberation of man and to his full development. In this respect, it is Paulo Freire who proposes liberation in its truest sense, that is, liberating both the oppressor and the oppressed through sustained literacy campaign. And then, only then development in a developing country like India would be much more meaningful and effective as development is just not only economic growth but much more than that. Therefore, literacy should aim at to arouse

in the individual a critical awareness of social reality and to enable him or her to understand , master and transform his or her destiny. With the view to achieving this goal, it is necessary to include in any campaigns on literacy all its dimensions — political, economic, social and cultural. Needless to mention, India is very much in need of such kind of approach to literacy. And for that purpose , it is equally necessary to understand deeply the philosophical and methodological aspects of the pedagogy as developed by Paulo Freire keeping in mind the local, regional and national situations of India and also keeping in view the contributions of stalwarts like Gandhiji, Rabindranath Tagore and Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar.

In spite of having the biggest literacy campaign in India following the philosophy and methodology of Paulo Freire under the guidance of National Literacy Mission Authority, seldom any book detailing the philosophy and methodology as developed by Paulo Freire and published by any Indian Publisher could be found. And it is not at all easy to collect books on Paulo Freire from the foreign sources. Late Satyen Maitra, a pioneer of introducing Paulo Freire's philosophy and methodology in India, wrote and published a few articles on these issues and thereby, enlightened a band of literacy activists. Had he been alive, one or two books on Paulo Freire by him could have been published by now. It may be mentioned here that Bengali translation of Paulo Freire's book *Education as the Practice of Freedom* was published by Satyen Maitra Janasiksha Samiti, Kolkata on 29th February, 2004. It is heartening to note that the second edition of the same book has come out recently. However, with the view to filling the void, Indian Paulo Freire Institute(IPFI) adopted a resolution in its joint meeting of the Advisory Board and the Executive Committee held on 18th September, 2004 to publish a book, following a simple

format, in English covering the biography and contributions of Paulo Freire in literacy at first and subsequently translated version in other Indian languages as far as possible. Publication of this book is an outcome of IPFI's organisational effort. With the publication of this book, it is expected, translated version in other Indian languages would come out in the near future with the view to reaching out to more and more people who are in any way engaged in the struggle for the liberation of man from all sorts of oppression, specially those who are involved in spreading mass education.

IPFI is also most grateful to Paulo Freire Institute, Sao Paulo, Brazil for favour of constantly providing necessary information about Freirean movement at international level as well as encouragement for strengthening this kind of movement in India.

IPFI's effort to publish this book would be deemed as meaningful if it can in any way strengthen Freirean movement in India..

Kolkata,
the 19th September, 2005

Jaladhar Mullick

Foreward

Why should we continue reading Freire

Linda Bimbi, in the beautiful preface to the Italian edition of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, rightly claims that Paulo Freire is "unclassifiable." More than thirty years later, after so many works published by him and about him, this claim is still true. We are faced with an author who never submitted to pedagogical currents and tendencies and created a living testament, oriented only by the point of view of the oppressed. This is the basic optic of his work to which he was faithful all his life: the perspective of the oppressed. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was written in Chile in 1968. Today we can question whether this point of view is still valid. If it were not, there would be no reason to continue reading Paulo Freire. Or, rather, Paulo Freire would be an antiquated author, because his struggle for the oppressed would be antiquated. He would pass into history as a great educator, but one who had nothing more to say to our time. On the contrary, his pedagogy continues to be valid not only because there is still oppression on the world, but because it responds to today's fundamental educational necessities. The school and educational systems currently find themselves facing huge new challenges created by our society's generalization of information, called by many the knowledge society, or the learning society. Cities are becoming educators and adepts, multiplying their formative

spaces. The school, in this new context of knowledge impregnation, cannot be one among many formative spaces. It needs to be an organizing space for multiple formative spaces, exercising a more formative and less informative function. It needs to become a "culture circle", much more generative of social knowledge and less a lecturer, as Paulo Freire would say. In this context, Paulo Freire's thinking is more current than ever since, throughout his work, he insisted on methodologies, forms of learning and teaching, methods of instruction and research, personal relations and, finally, dialogue. We should continue to study his work, not to venerate it but because he can be read as one of greatest critical educators of the twentieth century.

To honor an author is above all to study and read him/her critically, re-addressing his/her themes, problems and questions. He gave us a beautiful example of this process.

Paulo frequently re-addressed the same themes. There is something which remains constant in his thinking: his preoccupation with ethics, his commitment to the "condemned of the earth" (Pedagogy of the Oppressed) to those "excluded" (Pedagogy of Autonomy). His point of view was always the same. The difference is his emphasis on certain problematiques which were always diversifying and evolving. Paulo Freire "reexamines" certain themes, as in Pedagogy of Hope, he "reexamines" Pedagogy of the Oppressed. In Pedagogy of Autonomy he textually affirms that he reexamines certain problems, but not as "pure repetition of what was already said." "In my case", he says, "to reexamine a subject or theme has mainly to do with the oral style of my writing. But it is also because of the relevance that the theme of which I speak and to which I return as in the ensemble of objects I direct my curiosity. It has to do also with the relation that certain materials have

with others which keep emerging in the development of my reflection." There is certainly in Paulo Freire's work a return and a spiraling development of a great polyphony of generative themes oriented by the choice of an emancipatory point of view on science, culture, education, communication, etc. Thus, we can conclude that Paulo Freire's work revolves around a single object of study. This object was already in his first book, *Education and Brazilian Reality*, and was definitively consecrated in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed: education as the instrument of liberation*. Why should we continue reading Freire? Some would certainly like to leave him behind in the history of pedagogical ideas and others would like to forget him, because of his political options. He did not want to please everyone. But there is a point of unanimity among all his readers and all those who knew him personally: his respect for people. Paulo was always a cordial, generous and very respectful person. Even if he disagreed with your ideas, he respected your person, demonstrating a high degree of civilization. And more than that: his dialogical practice led him to respect the thinking of those who did not agree with him. The pedagogy of dialogue that he practiced is based on a pluralist philosophy. Pluralism does not mean eclecticism or "sweetened" positions, as he used to say. It means to have a point of view and to dialogue with other people from it. That is what allows you to maintain the coherence of your practice and your theory. Paulo was, above all, a humanist. That would be the only way to "classify" him today. There is no doubt that Paulo Freire was a great humanist. The power of Paulo Freire's work is not in his theory of knowledge, but in having insisted on the idea that it is possible, urgent and necessary to change the order of things. He not only convinced many people in many parts of the world through his theories and practices but, also, awakened in them the

capacity to dream about a more human, less ugly, more just reality. He was a kind of guardian of the utopia. That is the legacy he left us. His legacy is, above all, a legacy of hope.

(Translated from Portuguese by Peter Lownds, Olinda)

Moacir Gadotti

[Reprinted from Moacir Gadotti's lecture PAULO FREIRE, 5 YEARS AFTER A LEGACY OF HOPE which was delivered in the Third International Paulo Freire Forum held in Los Angeles from 18 to 21 September, 2002]

PAULO FREIRE

His Life, Work and Thought

Early Life

There is an adage—'Necessity is the mother of invention'. But all kinds of inventions may not have human face. Arduous struggle, vision and, above all, commitment to the downtrodden may lead to invention with human face. It is not a mere conjecture but a reality. The life and work of internationally renowned Brazilian educator and philosopher Paulo Reglus Neves Freire, most popularly known all over the world as simply Paulo Freire, is a glaring example. He was born on September 19th, 1921 in Recife, a port city in Northeast Brazil in the district of Casa Amarela, at premises number 724 on the road to Encanamento. His father Joaquim Temistocles Freire from Rio Grande do Norte was an army sergeant of the Pernambuco military police. According to Paulo Freire's own description, his father was "a spiritist, although not a member of any religious circle, good, intelligent, capable of loving." and his mother Edeltrudis Neves Freire was a "Catholic, sweet, good, just...". She was a housewife and seamstress from Pernambuco, completed studies up to high school level and could speak French well. Paulo was the youngest of his parents' four children, of whom two died without his having known them. Actually, The name of Paulo Freire should have been Paulo Re-gu-lus Neves Freire. But a mistake was made at the Registry Office and his father was responsible for this mistake in his name. Incidentally, since his teens he began to be called just Paulo Freire.

It is Paulo Freire's parents who taught him at an early age to entertain dialogue and to respect the choices of others — the key elements in his understanding of adult education afterwards. The first stage of his education was somewhat strict. "My father," he said later, "always lived at the midpoint between the opposite poles of freedom and authority. He was an army officer, but not an authoritarian. This was very different to my mother's way of being. She was very quiet and soft, much more so than he. He was also very affectionate, but he was less tender than my mother."

Paulo learned to read with his parents in the shade of the trees in the yard of the house in which he was born. This experience came through his own words, words from his infancy and childhood, not from the experience of his parents. This fact influenced his work, years later. His chalk was the twigs of the mango tree in whose shade he learned to read and his blackboard was the ground. It was a living, free, unpretentious preschool.

Paulo Freire, though initially taught by his parents, actually began his formal studies in the private school of Mrs. Vasconcelos who died in 1978. He went there already knowing his alphabet, writing well and copying. He studied there for little over a year but would never forget something which was called "making sentences." It was an exercise which he liked a lot. The teacher used to ask him to write two or three words and then encouraged him to say something with those words. She used to stress on the importance of a child's own expression.

Paulo Freire had a happy childhood, but at a very early age, like the majority of Brazilians from the Northeast, he had to experience the meaning of hunger and misery. He was then a boy of eight years old when the Stock Market crashed in New York, USA in 1929 due to Great Depression. This economic crisis drastically affected the Brazilian

market also and the ill effects of this world economic crisis due to Great Depression were being felt in the Northeast of Brazil. His parents were middle class but suffered financial reverses so severe during the Great Depression that Paulo had to encounter hunger. In 1931, the economic crisis compelled the Freire family to move to nearby Jaboatao, eighteen kilometers from Recife, where survival seemed to his parents less difficult.

In Jaboatao, Paulo Freire began to be aware of the world around him and that all was not well, since many of his friends lived in extreme poverty. He describes himself as a "connective boy" because, among his day to day companions, there were some who ate less and some who hardly ever ate. "In Jaboatao, when I was ten, I began to think that there were a lot of things in the world that were not going well." This kind of unkind childhood experience led Paulo Freire to dedicate himself to the struggle against hunger. He was merely thirteen when his father for whom he had great affection and love died in 1934. These problems meant that his studies had to be put off.

Paulo Freire returned to Recife in 1937 to attend high school. His mother managed to convince Aluizio Pessoa de Araujo, the director of the Oswaldo College Cross, a private gindsio (high school) in Recife, to accept Paulo as a scholarship student. Later, he returned to this school as a teacher of Portuguese. He was then sixteen when he entered the fifth series of the first grade of the high school. At that time, all his classmates were eleven or twelve years old. As an awkward but intelligent adolescent from the outskirts of the city, making his way in a traditional upper class boy's high school was not easy. It took him a while to adapt to his new surroundings but he took his studies seriously: "I spelled rat with two 'r's until I was fifteen. At twenty, although I was at Law School, I had mastered

Portuguese grammar and was just beginning my study of Philosophy and the Sociology of Language."

Paulo Freire once stated that almost all his classmates were well-dressed, well-fed, and came from homes which had a certain culture. "I was tall, lanky, wore pants which were too short and risked being made fun of because of their length. They were shorter than the length of my legs." He had the feeling, Paulo Freire admitted, that he was an ugly teenager. He rejected his own body, which was too bony. He was afraid of asking questions in the class because, as he was older than his classmates, he felt obliged to ask questions that were more intelligent and pertinent than the rest of the boys in the class.

But living in Jaboatdao, playing games of soccer, he also had contact with children and teenagers from poor rural families and the children of workers who lived in the hills or near the canals. "My experience with them," says Paulo Freire, "helped me to get used to a different way of thinking and expressing myself. This was the grammar of the people, the language of the people, and as an educator of the people I devote myself today to the rigorous understanding of this language."

Paulo Freire always had great difficulty in assimilating any kind of formal education. But he began to teach at a very early age, when he was still a high school student. He remembers that he had written, three years earlier, the word *rato* (mouse) with two r's.

His mother brought him up in the Catholic religion, and this kind of upbringing might have been an important influence both on his pedagogical theories and on his practice. He was a militant in the Catholic Action¹ movement. Paulo Freire never denied his Christian upbringing ; in fact, he has always considered Christianity progressive. But he would criticize what he called the

church of the oppressors, opposing it to the prophetic church, the church of the oppressed: "The prophetic church is the church of hope, hope which only exists in the future, a future which only the oppressed classes have, as the future of the dominant classes is a pure repetition of their present state of being the oppressors."

After his family situation improved a bit, he was able to enter the University of Recife in 1943 where he enrolled in the Faculty of Law (presently a part of the Federal University of Pernambuco - UFPE). Paulo Freire was over twenty then. Besides Law, he started to study philosophy and psychology of language while working part-time as an instructor of Portuguese in his old school. During the same period, he read the works of Marx and also Catholic intellectuals like Maritain, Bernanos, and Mounier—all of whom strongly influenced his educational philosophy.

It was in 1944 when the Brazilian military forces about to send him as combatant to the World War in Italy. However, Paulo Freire was exempted at the last moment as he was in teaching profession. Meanwhile, he met Elza Maria Costa de Oliveira of Recife, a primary school teacher who taught children how to read and write. She was five years older than Paulo. They got married in 1944 when Paulo was twenty-three. With Elza, he shared an intense passion full of dedication through out their married life. Eventually they had three daughters and two sons: Maria Madalena, Maria Cristina, Maria de Fatima, Joaquim, and Lutgardes. The three daughters and the youngest son later followed the footsteps of their father and became educators.

An Educator in the Offing

It was Paulo Freire's wife Elza who stimulated him to systematically devote himself to his studies and she even helped him to elaborate the method which later made him so well-known. As a parent, Paulo Freire's interest in theories of education began to grow, leading him to do more extensive reading in education, philosophy, and the sociology of education than in law. He begins to practice law but quickly stops before defending his first client, a young dentist. Paulo Freire said to Elza: "You know what, I'm not going to be a lawyer." Elza said, "I was hoping for that. You're an educator." Motivated by Elza, Paulo Freire devoted himself entirely to educational work and abandoned his work as a lawyer soon after his first case. Paulo Freire himself told the story, "I had to collect my fee. After talking to my client, a young shy, frightened dentist, I decided not to charge him. He was happy because I was this kind of lawyer, and I was happy when I stopped being one."

From the time Paulo Freire got married, he became deeply interested in the problems of education in a systematic way. From 1940 to 1950, he spent much of his free time reading widely, cataloguing and taking voluminous notes. 572 books he had noted in his own hand. These notes reveal that Paulo Freire learned to read in Spanish in 1943, in French in 1944 and in English in 1947. He read

important Brazilian authors, such as, Jose Lins do Rego, Graciliano Ramos, Jorge Amado, Gilberto Freyre. Paulo Freire admitted "I read them a lot. And they also remade me as a young teacher of grammar due to the aesthetic creativity of their language. Today I remember how I changed my teaching of syntax when I was about twenty. The important thing was, at that time, not just to deny the rules. When I was young, I learned that beauty and creativity couldn't be slaves of grammatical correctness. This taught me that creativity needed freedom. So, as a young teacher, I changed my teaching and gave greater value to creativity. This was also a basis for me to understand later that creativity in teaching is linked to creativity in politics. Authoritarian teaching, or an authoritarian political regime, doesn't allow the freedom necessary for creativity. Creativity is necessary in order to learn."

He also confessed, "I wanted very much to study, but I couldn't as our economic condition didn't allow me to. I tried to read or pay attention in the classroom, but I didn't understand anything because of my hunger. I wasn't dumb. It wasn't lack of interest. My social condition didn't allow me to have an education. Experience showed me once again the relationship between social class and knowledge. So, because of my problems, my elder brother began to work and to help us, and I began to eat more. At that time, I was in the second or third year of high school, and I always had problems. When I began to eat better, I began understanding better what I was reading. It was just as this time that I began to study grammar as I loved language problems. I studied the philosophy of language on my own and got myself ready to understand structuralism and language when I was eighteen or nineteen. Then I began teaching Portuguese grammar with love for language and

philosophy and with the intuition that I should understand the expectations of the pupils and make them participate in the dialogue. At a certain moment, between the ages of fifteen and twenty-three, I discovered that teaching was my passion”.

Paulo Freire always refers to Elza with considerable affection. “My meeting her was one of the most creative meetings in my life,” he once said. Paulo Freire continues, “Elza was marvelous and continues to be. She is a permanent presence and stimulation in my life. For example, when I was in prison in 1964, Elza visited me and brought me pans full of food for all my cellmates. She never told me, ‘Look, if you had thought a little more ... if you had avoided certain things, you wouldn’t be here.’ Never. Her solidarity was total”.

Paulo Freire lost Elza on October 24, 1986. Elza was not only Paulo’s sweethearts for long forty years but also always remained as an active partner of all kinds of his activities during their long married life.

In 1946, Paulo Freire started to work as a social welfare official at SESI (Social Service of Industry) where he stayed eight years. SESI was an employers’ institution whose objectives were to assist. It was set up, according to Paulo Freire, “not to criticize the consciousness of the working class, but to confuse reality and to put obstacles in the way of the fact that the working class could achieve its own identity.” But it was here that the reality became clear. It was here that Paulo Freire learned to talk(dialogue) with the working class and to understand their way of learning about the world through their language. And it was here that he became an educator, learning through his practice something that would always remain with him: *always think about the practice*.

Paulo Freire became the director of Education and

Culture Sector of SESI and coordinated the work of the teachers with the children, as well as working with their families. In these contacts between school and families, he learned that discussions of abstract concepts, for example, the ethical code of the child in Piaget², would not be able to sensitivize a concrete father, who hits a real child in a concrete situation. What would help was a discussion of the difficulties of someone who had too little to live on .

At SESI, Paulo Freire was in charge of studying the relationships between pupils, teachers and parents. And it was here that he discovered the roots of his anti-elitist and anti-idealistic pedagogy. He noticed the "idealistic" elements in the orientation given to working-class families and the resulting mistakes made him follow new directions. Paulo Freire attributed their problems to the difference between middle-class language and the popular language of the workers. Thus, a study of the language of the people was the starting point for the development of his work on popular education and his pedagogy.

Important experiences in his life at this time were his participation in the MCP³ (Movement for Popular Culture) of Recife and the studies on popular and erudite language which he made as a teacher of Portuguese.

In 1956, Paulo Freire was nominated as a member of the Board of Education of Recife . He was also one of the founders of the Cultural Extension Service of the University of Recife and was its first director. His reputation as a progressive educator was enhanced when he was presented as the chief writer and creator of the ideas regarding a new method of teaching adult literacy contained in Theme III of the Pernambuco Regional Commission's report to the Second National Conference on Adult Education in Rio de Janeiro in 1958. It was entitled as 'Education of Adults and Marginal Populations : The

Problem of the Mocambos (slums in the Northeast of Brazil)'. The paper proposed that adult education in the Pernambuco mocambos had to have its foundation in the consciousness of the day-to-day situations lived by the learners ; educational work toward democracy would only be achieved if the literacy process was not about or for man, but with man. This attitude heralded that a more progressive segment of Brazilian society was ready to break with the archaic, authoritarian, discriminatory, elitist traditions which had for centuries enslaved the Brazilian poor.

In 1959, Paulo Freire wrote a thesis under the title "Present-day Education in Brazil," as a result of which he was conferred with Ph.D. This thesis also helped him to earn the chair of History and Philosophy of Education in the School of Arts and Letters of Recife. In this thesis, the seeds of his theory and educational practice could be noticed. He criticized Brazilian school education and proposed a radical revision starting from the study of the needs of the educational process in particular historical circumstances. The style, though not forceful, did not hide Paulo Freire's acceptance of a decisive point of view—"all considerations of Brazilian school education cannot develop in the emptiness of abstract propositions."

Paulo Freire's work at this time was clearly marked by nationalism and developmentalism. This was due to influence from authors connected to ISEB⁴ (Higher Institute for Brazilian Studies), who included Roland Corbisier, Alvaro Vieira Pinto, and Alberto Guerreiro Ramos. Paulo Freire realized that he made a number of errors and ingenuous proposals in this thesis, but he was on the right track.

The following year, when he gave a lecture entitled "Primary Schooling for Brazil", he defended the idea that the problem of the primary school was not just that there were

too few schools for the number of pupils but that the problem was equally their lack of "insertion" in the social context.

Paulo Freire asserted,—“We can say that the type of school that we urgently need is a school in which you really study and work. When, together with other educators, we criticize the intellectualism of our school, we are not trying to defend a position for the school in which subjects and the discipline are diluted. In our history, we have probably never had such a great necessity of teaching and of learning as today. Learning to read, write and tell. Studying history and geography. Understanding the situation and situations of the country. The intellectualism we are fighting against is just this hollow, empty, loud verbosity which has no relation to the surroundings in which we are born, we grow up, and from which even today to a great extent, we are nurtured.”

At this time, Paulo Freire was making a proposal for setting up of parents' and pupils' associations and school councils with educational goals. These would, he felt, associate the formation of a critical consciousness with popular organization. He also clarified the main objective of 'studying'⁵ and 'knowing'⁶ in the school from his stand point. Studying is not an act of consuming ideas, but rather one of creating them and recreating them. To study is to know. But when the production of knowledge is separated from the discovery of already existing knowledge, schools become easily transformed into shops for the sale of knowledge, which is part of capitalist ideology.

Advent of a Novel Method of Literacy

In the early 1960's, Brazil was a restless nation. Numerous reform movements flourished simultaneously as socialists, communists, students, labour leaders, populists and Christian militants — all sought their own socio-political goals. It was in the midst of this ferment and heightened expectations that Paulo Freire became the first director of the University of Recife's Cultural Extension Service which brought literacy programs to thousands of peasants in the Northeast.

At that time, the Alliance for Progress was setting up a number of agreements in the educational area with the state government of Aluisio Alves in the Northeastern state of Rio Grande do Norte. Paulo Freire was approached by the Secretary of Education, who enquired about the possibility of using his method in Rio Grande do Norte. One of the demands made by Paulo Freire was that the town chosen for the first experiment was not to be visited by the governor during the course in order to avoid electioneering. However, this demand was not entirely respected.

In 1963, Paulo Freire received the first hand experience in adult literacy in the municipalities of Angicos and Mossoro by using the system termed as "Paulo Freire's Method of Literacy." A team, coordinated by the law student Marcos Guerra, first went to Natal, the capital of Rio Grande

do Norte, to train the group of teachers. Then they went to Angicos to work on the vocabulary universe of the region and to begin their literacy work. At the end of 45 days, 300 illiterate agricultural workers learned to read and write because of his method. The Angicos experience, in which Paulo Freire perfected his method, was publicized throughout Brazil when President Joao Goulart paid a visit together with all his ministry at the end of the experiment.

The experiment in Angicos had been financed by the Alliance for Progress, but, in view of the progressive political content of the work of Paulo Freire, which challenged the colonial and imperialist ideas of the Alliance for Progress, this financial support was withdrawn. Meanwhile, the National Plan for Adult Literacy was created by President Joao Goulart. Paulo Freire was then invited to coordinate the National Literacy Plan. This plan consisted of setting up in the capital of each state a central team which would multiply the staff available and put the method into practice. It was first coordinated by Pablo Freire with an objective of teaching how to read and write to 5 million adults in 2 years, through creating of proper consciousness and political awareness.



Onslaught on Paulo Freire and His Method

The Northeast of Brazil in the 1950s and the early 1960s was the historical and political environment in which the ideas of Paulo Freire were formed and developed. It was the period of political crisis which began with the 1930 revolution and finished with the military coup in 1964.

During this period, the popular classes entered the political arena. There were various political groups of different persuasions, among them the radical Catholics, who tried to start a mass mobilization, a consequence of the populism and nationalism of the time. A series of important events were taking place. The literacy campaign became part of a social context together with the Grassroots Reforms and the growing number of Rural Workers' Leagues.

The Grassroots Reforms consisted of demands of ordinary people which were related to structural, mainly economic, transformations. Among them, agrarian reform stood out. This had been the masthead of the social and trade union movements, whose main aim was to question the unproductive lands. Rural workers, organized in the famous Rural Workers' Leagues, rose up against the existence of these unproductive lands. These Leagues were syndicates which were very active in the hinterland of

the states of the Northeast before 1964, when they were banned because of their political activity in favour of landless rural workers. With the attempt to break the control and manipulation of the populist leaders, the possibility arose that the working classes would become aware of their social position and would organize themselves in order to improve their miserable situation. During all the 1950s and at the beginning of the 1960s, the populist leaders began to lose their ability to manipulate the demands of the masses, who now began to mobilize in rural areas as well as urban areas.

In this backdrop, in 1963, Darcy Ribeiro, Minister of Education in the reform-minded Joao Goulart government, asked Paulo Freire to represent the Ministry of Education in SUDENE (Northeast Development Board), whose director was Celso Furtado. Although it was a nonpaying job, but it had considerable political importance as its function was to discuss together with the technicians from SUDENE and North American technicians from USAID⁷ for the approval of educational Projects for the Northeast.

From June 1963 up to March 1964, Freire's literacy teams worked throughout the entire nation. They claimed success in creating interest among the adult illiterates to read and write in as short a time as thirty hours! The secret of this success is found in the resistance of Freire and his co-workers to merely teaching the instrumental and decontextualized skills of reading and writing, but rather by presenting participation in the political process through knowledge of reading and writing as a desirable and attainable goal for all Brazilians. Freire won the attention of the poor and awakened their hope that they could start to have a say in the day-to-day decisions that affected their lives in the Brazilian countryside. Peasant passivity and fatalism waned as literacy became attainable and valued. Freire's methods were incontestably politicizing and, in the

eyes of the Brazilian military and land-owners anxious to stave off land reform, outrageously furious.

The retaliation of the big landowners, who, for the first time since the discovery of Brazil, had seen their power questioned, came with the crushing 1964 military coup, which was supported by Brazil's foreign allies. The military overthrew the reform-minded Goulart regime in Brazil in April of 1964. All progressive movements were suppressed. The military coup, however, put a blunt and abrupt end to Paulo Freire's effort to overcome illiteracy in Brazil.

At the beginning of the sixties, Paulo Freire could foresee, like the majority of intellectuals, the possibility of a coup. It could be seen in the Brazilian situation, in all the left-wing groups, which "lived a kind of anticipatory idyll with the body of the bride, which was the revolution." There was considerable idealism in the air and some people believed that this process could not be reversed.

After his first experiments to perfect his method, which were made in the MCP, Paulo Freire once confided to Elza that if he continued the work that he was developing, in one or two years he would either be imprisoned or attract the interest of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) in his research.

On March 30, 1964, Paulo Freire was taking part in a course in Goiania when he received a telephone call from his assistant telling him that the news from the federal capital of Brasilia was not good and that he should go back to Brasilia on the same day. The day after, Miguel Arraes, governor of the state of Pernambuco, was imprisoned, together with the mayor of Recife.

Immediately after the coup, in order to avoid imprisonment, Paulo Freire stayed in the house of a good friend, Luiz Bronzeado, a UDN (National Democratic Union) parliamentary deputy. He stayed in the house and merely waited for time to pass and for the dust to settle. He thought

about the possibility of taking refuge in an embassy, but he preferred to stay in Brazil, even though he was sure of the fact that he would be imprisoned, which actually happened, when he and his family went back to Recife.

"Very good, you may be called later to make a statement," the security force chief told him when he voluntarily presented himself. And he was. Early on 16th June, two policemen showed their identification at his door and asked him to accompany them. He was then imprisoned.

As he said in a later statements in the majority of interrogations, what his questioners tried to prove, as well as his "absolute ignorance," was the danger he represented. He was considered an "international subversive," a "traitor to Christ and the Brazilian people." "Do you deny," one of the judges asked him, "that your method is similar to that of Stalin, Hitler, Peron, and Mussolini? Do you deny that, with your so-called method, you want to make Brazil a Bolshevik country?" Later, the process instigated against him was shelved through "ineptness of accusation."

This experience, which lasted seventy days, was sufficiently traumatic to teach him a number of things. In prison, the relationship between education and politics became even clearer to him and confirmed his thesis that social change would have to come from the masses and not from isolated individuals. On the subject of prison, he said that it was possible to learn and educate in the most diverse conditions. As a prisoner, he had something to learn from the experience, even though he might not like it. In prison, he began his first major educational work, *Education as a Practice of Freedom*. This book, an analysis of Paulo's failure to effect change in Brazil, had to be completed in Chile, because Freire was sent into exile.

After his period in prison, Paulo Freire thought that in such a period of extremes and irrationality, it would be very

risky to stay in the country. He said: "I have no vocation to be a hero. I even think that revolutions are made through people that are living and one or two that are dead, not because the heroes wanted them."

Tired of being under rigorous supervision and being called to answer questions and seeing that he wasn't able to do the only thing he could do, and preferring to remain alive instead of giving himself up to a slow death, he opted for exile.

Paulo Freire in Exile

At that time, while Paulo Freire was searching for a place other than his own country where he could resume his most loved activities, the Bolivian Embassy was the only one which welcomed him. Then he was contacted by the Bolivian Ministry of Education, who sought his help in both child and adult literacy schemes. However, he had difficulty with the altitude of La Paz (twelve thousand feet above sea level), where he fainted when he arrived. In addition, twenty days after his arrival, a coup overthrew the government of Paz Estensoro. Neither he nor other Brazilians in La Paz were affected, but now he was unable to continue living there.

When the coup took place in Brazil in 1964, Chile was getting ready for its September presidential election. The candidates were Eduardo Frei of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) and Salvador Allende⁸ of the left wing Popular Action Front (FRAP). The right wing withdrew support from its candidate and, fearing the victory of the left, found that it was obliged to support the Christian Democratic candidate, who won the elections. The PDC started some important reforms, like that of education which, despite all the criticism made of the party's capitalistic modernization platform, resulted in a considerable advance in the democratization of education.

Paulo Freire shifted to Chile and lived there from 1964 to 1969, a period in which agrarian reform began to take

place. This resulted in considerable participation by rural workers in national life. This agrarian reform required a shift of the state apparatus to the countryside to ensure that laws were carried out, that a new agrarian structure could be set up, and that health, transport, credit, technical assistance, schools, and other basic infrastructure services could be provided. The state tried to qualify large numbers of new personnel and technicians to help bring about these changes, mainly in the agricultural sector. Agrarian reform was directly linked to the Ministry of Agriculture and in particular to two organs: the Agricultural Reform Corporation (CORA) and the Institute of Farming and Livestock Development (INDAP), directed by Jacques Chonchol, who later became the Minister of Agriculture in Allende's government. INDAP had various subdivisions, including the Social Development Division and the Research and Training Institute for Agrarian Reform (ICIRA), where Paulo Freire worked. Various Brazilian exiles also arrived in Chile in 1964 and 1965.

The work of Paulo Freire at ICIRA consisted of helping the teams whose task it was to organize small farmers and peasants. His first jobs were to go into the countryside to hear what they had to say and to learn something of the Chilean reality. He was also a consultant for CORA with its literacy schemes and the Ministry of Education with its Adult Education schemes.

The period in exile was extremely important for Paulo Freire. In Chile, he found a rich and satisfying political space which was socially and educationally dynamic and which allowed him to restudy his method in other historical circumstances. He was able to re-evaluate it in practice and systematize it theoretically.

Educators from the Left supported Paulo Freire's educational philosophy, but he was opposed by the

rightwing opposition, which accused him of writing a "very violent" book against Christian Democracy in 1968. Needless to mention, this book was *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, which could only be published in 1970. This accusation was one of the factors which made Paulo Freire to leave Chile in 1969.

While he was in exile, Paulo Freire gradually began to understand the meaning of the 1964 coup in Brazil. He gradually realised that a new kind of imperialist intervention had begun in Latin America. It was no longer the obvious domination of the stubborn landowner, who would lower the prices of exported products and keep the workers' wages down. There was a planned project as a part of a new political and economic strategy which particularly intended to modernize the economic structure of Brazil particularly and of Latin America in general and make it more appropriate for capitalist interests and a more subtle, modern, scientific, technological kind of domination. The technology itself which was exported to Brazil under the label of "technical assistance" was, and continues to be, a way of sustaining this domination. This explains the importance Paulo Freire placed, in his work immediately after he left Brazil, to the idea of the "cultural invasion." Understanding of this kind of cultural invasion led Paulo Freire to formulate his theories of cultural action in chapter 4 of his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

At the beginning of his exile, many people thought the coup in Brazil was just a temporary uprising by one regiment which would soon be over. But Paulo Freire reached the conclusion that the government which the coup had installed would last longer than his own lifetime. He therefore prepared himself for a long period in exile. History proved him to be correct in his assessment of the situation.

The exile was profoundly educational for Paulo Freire. He began to question Brazil, to understand it better, to

understand better what he had done, and to prepare as well as possible to do something outside his own country by making a contribution to another country. Through his experience of cultural differences, he learned the political virtue that was most lacking in Brazil. It was tolerance, mainly in relation to other cultures. One culture cannot be called worse than another one.

However, Paulo Freire's wife Elza was never actually in exile. But she took on the position of an exile to such an extent that she several times refused the offer of her brother to pay for her to travel to Recife. Her reason was that she could not tread in an airport that was forbidden to her husband. It was a political rather than an existential position.

After a long period in Chile, Paulo Freire, in a conversation with his wife, wondered if it might be better for him to leave though he was happy in Chile. Meanwhile, his Chilean team had taken over the work he had set up. Besides this, his contract with UNESCO was not renewed. Moreover, the rightwing opposition of Chile was not favouring his activities. On the other hand, he had received a number of invitations from North American and European universities.

In 1967, he went to the USA for the first time, coordinating seminars in universities in several states. In the USA his first, and until then his only book *Education as a Practice of Freedom*, had received a considerable amount of publicity.

In 1969, while he was in Chile, he received a letter from Harvard University inviting him to work there for two years. Eight days later he received a letter from the World Council of Churches in Geneva. This organization had played a very important role when African countries began to rebel against the hegemony of colonial rule and was involved in

fight for liberation throughout the continent, supporting organizations like PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cabo Verde) of Amilcar Cabral, MPLA Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) in Angola, and FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) in Mozambique. Paulo Freire believed this institution to have considerable historical importance and saw an opportunity for working together with it, as he actually did for a period of ten years.

Paulo Freire wanted to have the North American experience but by leaving Latin America and working just with books in a library, he was afraid of losing contact with the concrete. This would not satisfy him. It would rather generate a kind of alienation. He suggested that he should stay in Harvard for six months and then go to Switzerland. This proposal was accepted. "At that time I was absolutely convinced that it would be fundamental for me to go around the world, to expose myself to various situations, learn from the experience of others and to see myself in different cultural contexts. And this was what the World Council of Churches could give much more than any university."

At Harvard, Paulo Freire was a Visiting Professor at the Center of Educational and Developmental Studies which was associated with the Center for Studies in Development and Social Change. Here, his book *Cultural Action for Freedom*, which placed cultural action against the imperial cultural invasion, took its final form.

In Geneva, he was a consultant for the World Council of Churches, working as an educational counsellor for Third World governments.

In the first phase of his exile, Paulo Freire wrote his best known two books *Education as a Practice of Freedom* and *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

The first of these two books united ideas expressed in a number of articles, lectures, and seminars in the context of

economic development and movement to overcome the colonial culture. In this society "in transit," Paulo Freire showed the role which education could play in the building of a new, open society.

The educational ideas which Paulo Freire developed, although they might be valid for other societies at other times, were marked by the special conditions of Brazilian society. This society changed rapidly in contradictory directions; it was commanded by an alienated elite, and the ordinary person became a mere thing without being aware of it. The key category in this book was that of conscientization, which consisted of a liberation process on the part of the dominated conscience to get rid of the influence exercised by the dominating consciousness. According to Paulo Freire, the dominated consciousness is "lived in" by the dominator, and the process of conscientization is that of getting rid of this "guest."

While he was working at ICIRA in Chile, Paulo Freire analyzed the question of the "rural extension" and its relationship with previous research. The result was the book *Extension or communication*. In this book, Paulo Freire analyzed the communication between the peasant and the technician in the agrarian society which is being started. He discussed agrarian reform and change, opposing the concepts cultural extension and cultural communication. To Paulo Freire, the first idea is one of invasion whereas the second is one of making people aware ; the educational action of the agronomist as the teacher should be that of communication if he intends to reach the community. Whoever is just "filled" by others, with just content that contradicts his own way of being, does not learn. The agronomist-educator who is not aware of the world view of the peasant cannot change his behavior. Here, Paulo Freire's interest was in emphasizing the

principles and stating the bases of education as a practice for freedom. This education is not that of mere technical ability but includes the importance of the human being.

In the other book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, which he worked on while in Chile, Paulo Freire showed the oppressive mechanisms of capitalist education. He began by discussing the historical development of the dominated consciousness and its dialectic relationship with the dominating consciousness. Covering all that he had said up to then on the topic of education, it is Paulo Freire's most important and extensive work. It is the result of his first five years of exile and fruit of educational work in various concrete situations, rather than intellectual fancies or simple book reading. The book is dedicated to "radical nonsectarians."

This work is based on the dialectics of the unity between subjectivity and objectivity, between past and future, between previous and new knowledge. Sectarianism, he firmly believed, belongs to reactionaries while radicalization is appropriate for the revolutionary.

Another famous book *Cultural Action for Freedom* was first published after he left Chile. In this book, Paulo Freire tried to show the impossibility of dialogue between antagonists, as this dialogue would suppose equality of conditions and reciprocity. He referred particularly to the neocolonial relations already existing between the "mother countries" of the First World and the countries of the so-called Third World.

The second phase of exile began with Paulo Freire's move to Geneva in 1970. And in this second phase of his exile in Europe and Africa, the theory and educational practice of Paulo Freire received a worldwide dimension.

In 1971, a group of Brazilian exiles founded IDAC (Institute for Cultural Action), a research and educational

center directed toward real and concrete situations and whose base was that of conscientization as a revolutionary factor in education and in society. Its political and educational direction was that of attempting to build, in every concrete situation, a pedagogy of the oppressed. In other words, through undergoing an educational practice in which, based on the realities and the interests of those with whom one works, one looks for a process of knowledge and ways in which one can change the reality.

As president of the executive committee of IDAC, Paulo Freire decided that he should just participate for a limited period of time, so that the group could grow without depending on him. At one time, IDAC received so many requests that it ran the risk of becoming an institute that just conducted seminars. However, in 1975, there was a great opportunity for it to find its proper place. Mario Cabral, minister of Education in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, invited Paulo Freire and his IDAC team to visit his country and contribute to the development of the national literacy scheme. Guinea-Bissau, a former Portuguese colony, is a small country in West Africa whose inhabitants are mainly peasants. At that time, it experienced a fifteen year exemplary war of national liberation. It was Paulo Freire's first experience in Africa. At the outset, it was discussed that their experiment should not interfere in the revolutionary process in Guinea-Bissau. It was important to forget what had happened in previous literacy schemes so that this previous work would not be given a universal value which then would be transferred to Guinea-Bissau.

Working coherently with its proposal, IDAC didn't go to Guinea-Bissau as an international expert in people's education but went in order to collaborate as a militant. Its members took no ready-made projects to prescribe to the government which had invited them. If this had been the

case, they would have been behaving like neocolonialists. IDAC rejected this line completely and followed the idea — experiences are lived and not transplanted.

From the assistance that was given there was an enormous amount of learning, both on the part of those who were teaching and those who were learning. The dramatic lack of material resources, the limited efficiency of certain coordinators of the cultural circles, who needed more thorough training, and the vestiges of the old ideology interfering in the developmental process of the country were all noted down, studied, and thought about.

In September, 1975, Paulo Freire took part in an international symposium in Iran which had, at that time, an enormous repercussion. In the final text, called the Declaration of Persepolis, the relationship between literacy campaigns and the involvement of people in socio-political changes was clarified. It was affirmed that literacy to be “not just the process of learning the skills of reading, writing and arithmetic but a contribution to the liberation of man and to his full development.”

Between 1975 and 1978, Paulo Freire worked in Sao Tome and Principe, not as a technician but as a militant educator who tried not to separate his task from the liberation cause of the oppressed. This country, released from the Portuguese colonial yoke, gave him the confidence of its revolutionary leadership and proposed to him that he should develop a literacy program. The results were much better than expected. Four years later, Paulo Freire received a letter from the Minister of Education, who said that 55 percent of all those enrolled and that 72 percent of those who had finished the course had become literate. In the commemoration ceremony that followed, a man who had recently become literate wrote a message in his own hand.

Also in the 1970s, a number of the most prestigious universities in the world awarded him honorary doctorates: the Open University in Great Britain, Louvain in

Belgium, the University of Michigan, and the University of Geneva. In addition, Paulo Freire accepted invitations to work in Australia, Italy, Angola, Nicaragua, the Fiji Islands, India, Tanzania, and in numerous other countries.

During his fifteen years of exile, Paulo Freire established residence in only three places: Santiago in Chile (1964-69), where he worked as an adult educator for two organizations having to do with agricultural improvement and land reform, Massachusetts in USA (1969-70), where he taught for ten months at Harvard, and Geneva in Switzerland (1970-79) where he worked and travelled under the auspices of the World Council of Churches as a kind of roving ambassador of literacy to the Third World. In this capacity, he traveled the world, dialoguing and lecturing about his ideas and experiences and taking part in seminars, conferences, congresses and advising revolutionary governments in Africa, Central America and the Caribbean.

The homage from the University of Geneva, where he kept a seminar going on popular education, was one of the last acts he took part in before receiving armistice and returning to Brazil, after little more than fifteen years in exile. In spite of the many invitations he had received during this period, he could never enter Brazil as he was always refused an entry visa.

On August 7, 1979, he went to Brazil for a month's visit. Immediately after, he returned to Geneva to discuss with his family, IDAC, and the World Council of Churches his definitive return to Brazil, which actually materialised in March, 1980 with the dream of "relearning it" after a long absence for more than fifteen years.

Relearning Brazil

A year before receiving amnesty, Paulo Freire had been invited to return to Brazil to take part in the First Seminar of Brazilian Education, but once again, he was refused a passport. The organizers of the seminar, which took place in Campinas, managed to get past the censor by presenting a recorded telephone message from Paulo Freire to the eight hundred participants. In this message, he spoke of the enormous nostalgia he felt for the smell and taste of Brazil, from which he was far, but from which he would never be far.

With the 1979 amnesty, the Brazilian government demanded that every exile, in order to return to his job in Brazil, had to undergo a kind of "test of dangerousness," given by a commission nominated by the dictatorship. Paulo refused to undergo this test and was thus adversely affected financially for many years.

After obtaining a court order, he managed to get the passport which had been systematically denied him by various Brazilian consulates in a number of countries. After little more than 15 years in exile, Pablo Freire returned at the age of fifty seven, arriving at Viracopos Airport in Campinas, marking a new stage in his life which he described in his own words – "Fifteen years' absence demands learning and a greater intimacy with the Brazil of today. I have come back to relearn Brazil."

After cutting through lots of 'red tape' and political diffidence, he was offered professorial assignments at the

State University of Campinas (UNICAMP) in 1980. At the same time, he began to work in the Postgraduate Education program at the Catholic University of Sao Paulo.

When he was still in exile, he was one of the founders of CEDES (Center for the Study of Education and Society), which started, together with the journal *Educacdo e sociedade* (Education and Society), during the First Seminar of Brazilian Education in 1978.

In 1980, he joined the PT (Partido dos Trabalhadores – “the Workers’ Party”), in Sao Paulo. From 1980 to 1986, he worked as director and founder of the Wilson Pinheiro Foundation, which was linked to the PT. He directly supervised the adult literacy project which was organized by this foundation in the town of Diadema, in Greater Sao Paulo.

In 1981, he helped to found Vereda, the Center for Studies in Education, in Sao Paulo. This center was responsible for research, assistance and training of teachers who would work in the area of popular education.

One of the ways in which Paulo Freire relearned Brazil was through his participation in teachers’ movements and popular education movements, for example, the discussion with teachers from the state of Minas Gerais, which took place in April 1981, and more specially, his participation in the struggle of the working class. This involvement with the working class had a profound effect in his work which he wrote after his exile.

In 1983, with its Regional Programme for Abandoned and Street Children, UNICEF began a series of support activities for governments, the Catholic Church, private institutions, and communities, in the search for alternative means of rescuing and helping the abandoned children of Latin America. An initial step in this proposal was the publication in Spanish of *Paulo Freire e os educadores de rua*, which aimed at attracting attention to the plight of

abandoned children who were born and who were living in the street, in a situation of considerable risk. In this book, Paulo Freire discussed the circumstances which produced these children, the practice of street education, its perplexities, its surprising pedagogical features and its general characteristics. He proposes a pedagogy that, on one hand, rejects the authoritarianism that suffocates freedom and, on the other hand, that rejects licentious irresponsibility.

Since his return to Brazil, Paulo Freire had been taking part in many events, courses and seminars in the most diverse institutions, always treating them as political and pedagogical acts. Together with Martin Carnoy, he conducted an intensive course in the School of Education at Stanford University, California. He also opened the Education Forum in the state of Sao Paulo, Brazil, in August, 1983.

Meanwhile he had received diverse homages and various titles, such as the King Balduin Prize for International Development, in Belgium, and the 1986 UNESCO Prize for Education for Peace.

When he received the later prize, Paulo Freire said: "Peace is created and constituted by overcoming perverse social realities. Peace is created and is constituted by the neverending construction of social justice. Because of this, I do not believe in any education for a peace movement which, instead of revealing the world of injustices, makes it opaque and blinds its victims."

With the coming of the so-called New Republic in 1985, an amendment to the Amnesty Law paved the way to give him back his job automatically. The Federal University of Pernambuco (old University of Recife), called for the nominal re-integration of Paulo Freire into the university staff which he left in 1964 into exile. But somehow it did not materialised. In 1987, Paulo complained that his job had

not been given him back, and it was done that very year in the month of June . He got back his place as a professor at the Federal University of Pernambuco, through a bill passed by the New Republic, which thus made up for the injustice of the military government meted out to him in 1964. Immediately after, he asked for his retirement, which he had a right to, "in order to leave room for the younger generation." However, Paulo Freire continued his contact with the University of Campinas and the Catholic University of Campinas as consultant. He also conducted occasional courses at other universities.

The account of some of his educational experiences at this time can be found in his published "dialogues" with other intellectuals and educators. He tried a new methodological paradigm in the line of the participatory research, putting into practice a theory of knowledge which has as its main dimension the dialogic nature of the production of knowledge. Paulo Freire thus contributed toward a historical understanding of scientific rigour.

At the age of seventy-one, known throughout the world as one of the greatest educators of our time, Paulo Freire lost his wife, which hurt him tremendously. In the year that followed Elza's death, which took place in October 1986, he hardly wrote anything, apart from letters addressed to her which he didn't want to publish. One of the few jobs that he accepted was that of being a consultant to UNICEF. Elza's death left him with two paths—dying with her or choosing life. The choice for life incorporated Elza with optimistic memories, because at her side there was also the option for revolution. After spending some months in pain, struggling not to get depressed, Paulo Freire began again to slowly involve himself with education and with change. At the end of 1987, he asked to rejoin to work at the Catholic University of Sao Paulo, thus returning to teaching and research. In this year, Paulo Freire along with Donaldo Macedo

published *Literacy : Reading the Word and the World*, in which they examined the crisis of alphabetization.

After a difficult period of recovery, Paulo Freire found love again at the age of sixty-six with Ana Maria Araujo Hascche, an ex-pupil, to whom he had given the secondary school admission examination in Recife when he was a young teacher. She was then a 54 - year old widow. They were married on 19th August, 1988.

Paulo Freire returned to producing intensively. He is renewing himself and he says that he would like to live everything again. Fate took him again to Pernambuco where, accepting an offer by Miguel Arraes, once more State Governor, he became a consultant to the Department of Education. He accepted the challenge of helping to reformulate education in the state where he was born .

Paulo Freire was able to put his ideas into practice as Secretary of Education from 1989 to 1991 in Sao Paulo, Brazil's largest city, with a population of twelve million.

On 15th November, 1988, the PT (Workers' Party), which Freire had helped found, won the Municipal elections in Sao Paulo. He was invited to take over the position of Municipal Secretary of Education in the administration of Mayor Luiza Erundina who was a Pernambucan native, teacher and a social worker . She was a long-time acquaintance of Freire. Paulo Freire took up the position on 1st January, 1989. After two exhausting years, implementing a new educational model for the city's rundown schools which served almost a million children and instituting MOVA-SP (Literacy Movement in the City of Sao Paulo), a new program for adult literacy which was 'farmed out' to grassroots organizations and NGOs but based on his methodological concepts, Freire decided, it was time to transfer his leadership role to a team of colleagues and go back to full time teaching and writing. Meanwhile, he was able to initiate reformation in the two-thirds of the nation's school.

In 1987 and 1988, Paulo Freire developed the concept of interdisciplinarity in dialogues with educators from various fields in the University of Campinas who were committed to a project for popular informal education. The concept of interdisciplinarity evolves from the analysis of concrete practice and of lived experience of the "reflection group." The following year, as Secretary of Education, Paulo Freire started an important movement for the changes in the curriculum. This would be called the "projeto de interdisciplinaridade" (the project for interdisciplinarity or project "Inter"). According to Paulo Freire, the fundamental objective of interdisciplinarity is to live the experience of a global reality that takes place within the everyday life of the students, teachers, and the community. In the traditional school, this experience is compartmentalized and fragmented. Joining wisdom, knowledge, firsthand experience, school, community, environment, and so forth, is the objective of interdisciplinarity which develops into a practice of collective joint work in the organization of the school. There is no interdisciplinarity without decentralization of power and no decentralization without an effective autonomy of the school.

Paulo Freire left the Municipal Secretariat of Education on 27th May, 1991. After almost two and a half years, he returned to his library and academic activities in "the manner of he who, despite leaving, remains."

On 12th April, 1991, the Paulo Freire Institute was created at the suggestion of Paulo Freire himself after a lecture at the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies in the University of California, Los Angeles Campus, USA with the view to "congregating scholars and critics of his pedagogy, in a permanent dialogue that would foster the advancement of new educational theories and concrete interventions in reality ...". His work is now being carried out by 21

scholarly nuclei located in 18 countries including India. The Institute is centered in São Paulo, Brazil . It maintains the Freire archives and runs the Feire University (UNIFREIRE).

In 1992, Paulo Freire celebrated his 72nd birthday in New York with over two hundred friends—adult educators, educational reformers, scholars and “grass-roots” activists. Three days of festivity and workshops, sponsored by the New School for Social Research, marked the ongoing, vital impact of the life and work of Paulo Freire. In the same year, he published the book “Pedagogy of Hope” where he re-encountered “Pedagogy of the Oppressed.”

His last book *The Pedagogy of Autonomy: Necessary Knowledge that Leads you the Educational Practice* , was published in 1996.

Within a couple of months after publication of his last book, Pablo Freire suffered from a severe heart attack and subsequently passed away in Rio de Janeiro on 2nd May, 1997, at the age of 77.

A Pedagogy for Liberation

Paulo Freire's work has been recognized throughout the world not only as a response to Brazilian problems of the past or present but, also, as an original and important Latin American contribution to universal pedagogical thought. It cannot be said that his thinking only responds to questions of adult education or the social problems of poor countries.

Paulo Freire was one among those handful of world leaders who devoted their life for eradicating illiteracy from the society encountering stiff resistance from the powers that be. However, in spite of becoming a member of a rare community of his class, Paulo Freire's ideological orientation and methodological approach to literacy is somewhat unique in character and novel in content. To him, literacy must aim above all to arouse in the individual a critical awareness of social reality and to enable him or her to understand, master and transform his her destiny. Ideological literacy as well as critical literacy is capable of bringing about such changes.

Alphabetization or autonomous literacy refers primarily to literacy as a set of cognitive skills and abilities and their generic use. In contrast, ideological literacy refers to the social conceptions and uses of literacy. In his view, literacy is a part of the defining frame work of society.

Literacy is what society does with literacy and society is what literacy brings to it. The ideological view of literacy is meant to focus attention on the nature and function of literacy on a social system. It is an integral feature of the system. Literacy is understood and used in myriad ways in the function of the social system. It is a medium for interpreting the world.

Advocates of critical literacy emphasizes the empowering role that literacy can and should play in reshaping the world in which one lives and works. Reading is understanding the real world. Comprehending is constructing or reconstructing that world. Changing or redefining one's world is doing literacy. And therefore, the slogan created by Freire-'Read the word and the world.'

Paulo Freire was always open to learning from his experience. And he always practiced what he preached. A symbiotic assimilation of his work, his experience out of this work and rationale behind such work helped him to modify his stand towards the society in general and particularly towards literacy whenever it demanded. In his childhood, Freire was subjected to poverty and hunger. This kind of childhood experience led him to struggle for the liberation of the poorest of the poor: the marginalized classes who constitute the "cultures of silence" in many lands.

Education is to be the path to permanent liberation and it is to be constituted of two stages. The first stage is that by which people become aware (conscientized) of their oppression and through praxis they transform that state. The second stage builds upon the first and is a permanent process of liberating cultural action.

Educational and organizational assignments as well as direct contact with the poors led him to begin to formulate a means of communicating with the dispossessed that later developed into his dialogical method for adult education.

Meanwhile, he floated, apart from conscientization and praxis, a series of concepts like codification and decodification, collegiality, critical consciousness, cultural circle, empowerment, liberatory education, participatory research, problematization, and so forth and so on in the context of critical literacy. These concepts gradually crystallized into a philosophical outlook which is now popularly known as 'Freirean Philosophy'. It is essentially related to education in a broader sense.

In Paulo Freire's view of education, learning to take control and achieving power are not individual objectives, as in a "boot strap" theory of empowerment. For poor and dispossessed people, strength is in numbers and social change is accomplished in unity. Power is shared, not the power of a few who improve themselves at the expense of others, but the power of the many who find strength and purpose in a common vision. Liberation achieved by individuals at the expense of others is an act of oppression. Personal freedom and the development of individuals can only occur in mutuality with others. In the experience of women's groups, civil rights workers, and many others committed to liberatory action, collective power and collegiality protect the individual far more than authoritarian and hierarchical modes of organization. Shared power in learning is exercised in control over the curriculum, its contents and methods, and over the coordination of all learning activities. Education for liberation provides a forum open to the imaginings and free exercise of control by learners, teachers, and the community, while also providing for the development of those skills and competencies without which the exercise of power would be impossible. Empowerment is both the means and the outcome of this pedagogy which some have come to call "liberatory education".

Liberatory education is mutually supported learning for empowerment. Whatever its formal structure or precise purpose, such education is a component of and subordinate to a liberatory praxis which seeks to transform the social order. Transforming actions in aggregate comprise a revolutionary stance which simultaneously announces an egalitarian, participatory, and democratic social order and denounces hierarchical, authoritarian, and alienating systems of organizations. The content of liberatory education is both critical conscious and the development of appropriate skills and competencies related to liberatory praxis. Its process is dialogical, affirming the mutual and coequal roles of teachers and learners. The governance of liberatory education reflects and anticipates the social order announced by its vision

Paulo Freire's work is recognized throughout the world not only as a right response to Brazilian problems of the past or present but also as an original and important Latin American contribution to universal pedagogical thought. It cannot be said that his thinking responds only to questions of adult education or the social problems of poor countries .

Throughout his life, Paulo Freire was regarded as one of the most recognized pedagogues associated to progressive causes, specially critical pedagogy. Given the wide range of his philosophical and educational contributions, the impact of Paulo Freire's work cannot be restricted to literacy training or adult education alone. Problem-posing education, or the methodology for thematic research, two of the main theoretical and methodological innovations resulting from Freire's work, have been implemented not only in social studies and curriculum studies in adult education, secondary education and higher education, but also in such diverse subjects as the teaching

of mathematics and physics, educational planning, feminist studies, languages, educational psychology, and so forth.

He was a kind of guardian of the utopia. That is the legacy he left us. His legacy is, above all, "a legacy of hope."

Paulo Freire is no more but his legacy of commitment, love and hope for the oppressed people throughout the world is still alive and becoming more and more relevant in the face of continuous onslaught of globalisation and other oppressive forces. His theories and practices have not only convinced many people in many parts of the world but also awakened in them the capacity to dream about a more human, less ugly, more just reality. And that is why Paulo Freire's pedagogy for liberation is gaining ground day by day among those who form the lower rung of the society but numerically far more larger than that of the elite section. It certainly imbibes hope for the future.

Freirean Terminology

With the view to presenting his educational philosophy and methodology, Paulo Freire used in his writings as well as in the discourses with the educators a number of neologisms and old words with new meanings. Many terms were derived from Marxist literature with new interpretations. Some of the more common terms which are currently in use are mentioned below together with their Freirean interpretations.

Alienation

The term is derived from Marx and refers to the domination of people by power elites, material constraints, political structures, and thought itself. Ultimately, alienation is the separation of humankind from its labour. It interferes with the production of authentic culture (see Culture). It is affected by any process which limits a person's power to know the world, and thus dehumanizes the world itself (see Humanization).

Banking Education

'Banking education' is the type of education which considers the pupils to be empty containers, into which the teacher will "pour" knowledge. In this method of education,

passive learners receive deposits of pre-selected, ready-made knowledge. The learner's mind is seen as an empty vault into which the riches of approved knowledge are placed. This approach is also referred to as "digestive" and as "narrational" education.

Codification

A codification is a representation of the learner's day-to-day situations. It can be a photograph, a drawing, or even a word. As a representation, the photograph or word is an abstraction which permits dialogue leading to an analysis of the concrete reality represented. Codifications mediate between reality and its theoretical context, as well as between educators and learners who together seek to unveil the meanings of their existence.

Conscientization

Concretization is a word that is used by Paulo Freire (and distorted by many people) to show the relationship that should exist between thinking and acting. It refers to learning to perceive social, political and economic conditions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality. A person (or better, a group of people) who become conscientized (without forgetting that no one conscientizes anyone else, but that people are conscientized mutually through their daily work) is able to discover the reason why things are the way they are. This discovery should be accompanied by a transforming action.

Conscientization is an ongoing process by which a learner moves toward critical consciousness. This process is the heart of liberatory education. It differs from 'consciousness raising'; in that the latter frequently involves 'banking education' —the transmission of pre-selected knowledge. Conscientization means breaking through

prevailing mythologies to reach new levels of awareness—in particular, awareness of oppression, being an “object” in a world where only “subjects” have power. The process of conscientization involves identifying contradictions in experience through dialogue and becoming a “subject” with other oppressed subjects—that is, becoming part of the process of changing the world.

Collegiality

Collegiality is a form of social organization based on shared and equal participation of all its members. It contrasts with a hierarchical, pyramidal structure, and is represented by a series of concentric circles. Authority resides in the center-most circle, not over the others, but equidistant from each, so that authority can listen and reflect the consensus of the whole (see Consensual Governance). A collegial model has been frequently associated with liberatory education programmes.

Consensual Governance

Decision-making by consensus requires the discussion of issues until all are in agreement—this in contrast to decision-making by voting in which rule by the majority is imposed on those who dissent. Decision-making by consensus is time consuming and difficult. At times, consensus represents the willingness of a minority “not to oppose” a decision, but the ultimate benefit of this model is that no one is excluded by a decision. This model is a characteristic of participatory democracies.

Critical Consciousness

This is a level of consciousness characterized by depth in the interpretation of problems, through testing one's own findings with openness to revision, attempting to avoid

distortion when perceiving problems and preconceived notions when analyzing them, receptivity to the new without rejecting the old because it is old. In striving toward critical consciousness, the individual rejects passivity, practicing dialogue rather than polemics, and using permeable, interrogative, restless, and dialogical forms of life. Critical consciousness is brought about not through an individual or intellectual effort, but through collective struggle and praxis.

Culture

Culture is used in its broadest, anthropological sense as including all that is humanly fabricated, endowed, designed, articulated, conceived, or directed. Culture includes products which are humanly produced, both material (buildings, artifacts, factories, slum housing) and immaterial (ideology, value systems, mores), as well as materially derived products such as social class and the socio/political order. The key aim of liberatory education is to regain dominion over the creation and use of culture.

Culture Circle

The cultural circle is a discussion group that replaces the traditional school. It is formed by a group of people who get together to discuss their work, local and national realities, their family life, etc. There is no place for the traditional (banking) teacher who knows everything nor is there for the pupil who knows nothing. The educators and learners use codifications (see Codification) to engage in dialogue about the reasons for their existential situation. The peer group provides the theoretical context for reflection and for transforming interpretations of reality from mere opinion to a more critical knowledge. Thus the cultural circle allows the pupil to learn to "read," that is, analyze his practice and act upon it.

Culture of Silence

The "culture of silence" is a characteristic which Paulo Freire attributes to oppressed people in colonized countries with significant parallels in highly developed countries. Alienated and oppressed people are not heard by the dominant members of their society. The dominant members prescribe the words to be spoken by the oppressed through control of the schools and other institutions, thereby effectively silencing the people. This imposed silence does not signify an absence of response, but rather a response which lacks a critical quality. Oppressed people internalize negative images of themselves (images created and imposed by the oppressor) and feel incapable of self-governance. Dialogue and self-government are impossible under such conditions.

Decodification

Decodification dissolves a codification (see Codification) into its constituent elements and is the operation by which learners begin to perceive relationships between elements of the codification and other experiences in their day-to-day life and among the elements themselves. It is one of the most important moments in the process of alphabetization. It is the analysis of the generative words (or linguistic code) to extract the existential elements which are contained in it. Thus, decodification is analysis which takes place through dialogue, revealing the previously unperceived meanings of the reality represented by that codification. Decodification is the principal work of a culture circle (see Culture Circle).

Dialectic

Dialectic is a term referring to a dynamic tension within any given system and the process by which change occurs on the basis of that tension and resulting conflict. Based on

the writings of Hegel, every concept implies its negation; that is, in conceiving anything (thesis), we must be able to imagine its opposite* (antithesis). Change occurs as this tension leads to a new conception of reality (synthesis). It should be noted that Marx, in contrast to some liberatory educators, postulated that such tensions and contradictions were embedded in concrete culture (thus, dialectic materialism) and not merely found in contradictions between the existential world and our thoughts about the world.

Dialogical Method

The dialogical approach to learning is characterized by co-operation and acceptance of interchangeability and mutuality in the roles of teacher and learner, demanding an atmosphere of mutual acceptance and trust. In this method, all teach and all learn. This contrasts with an anti-dialogical approach which emphasizes the teacher's side of the learning relationship and frequently results in one-way communications perpetuating domination and oppression. Without dialogue, there is no unhindered communication, and without communication, there can be no liberatory education.

Empowerment

Empowerment is a consequence of liberatory learning. Power is not given, but created within the emerging praxis in which co-learners are engaged. The theoretical basis for this discovery is provided by critical consciousness ; its expression is collective action on behalf of mutually agreed upon goals. Empowerment is distinct from building skills and competencies, these being commonly associated with conventional schooling. Education for empowerment further differs from schooling both in its emphasis on groups (rather

than individuals) and in its focus on cultural transformation (rather than social adaptation).

Generative Themes/Words

Generative themes are codifications of complex experiences which are charged with political significance and are likely to generate considerable discussion and analysis. They are derived from a study of the specific history and circumstances of the learners. In a literacy program, generative themes can be codified into generative words—that is, tri-syllabic words that can be broken down into syllabic parts and used to “generate” other words. Taken out of the daily universe of the literacy student, the generative word should generate other words in such a way that will allow a reading of reality that is not just linguistic but also political. Generative words have been most useful in relation to languages which are phonetically based (e.g. Spanish, Portuguese).

Humanization

Humanization is the way in which men and women can become aware of themselves, their way of behaving and of thinking, when they develop all their capacities by thinking not just of themselves but of the needs of everyone. The central task in any movement toward liberation is to become more fully human through the creation of humanly enhancing culture—in a word, “humanization.” This historical task is countered by the negative forces of dehumanization which, through oppressive manipulation and control, compromise human values for personal gain and power. The task of the oppressed is to liberate themselves and, in the process, liberate their oppressors. Revolutions are humanized to the extent that the new regime confronts its tendency to

replicate the oppression of the old (see Transformation of the World).

Liberatory Education

Education which is liberatory encourages learners to challenge and change the world, not merely uncritically adapt themselves to it. The content and purpose of liberatory education is the collective responsibility of learners, teachers, and the community alike who, through dialogue, seek political, as well as economic and personal empowerment. Programs of liberatory education support and compliment larger social struggles for liberation.

Mystification

Mystification is the process by which the alienating and oppressive features of culture are disguised and hidden. False, superficial and naive interpretations of culture prevent the emergence of critical consciousness. Educational systems are key instruments in the dissemination of mystifications, e.g., unemployment is "mystified" as personal failure rather than as a failure of the economy, thus making it difficult for the unemployed to critically understand their situation.

Participatory Research

Participatory research is an approach to social change—a process used by and for people who are exploited and oppressed. The approach challenges the way knowledge is produced with conventional social science methods and disseminated by dominant educational institutions. Through alternate methods, it puts the production of knowledge back into the hands of the people where it can infuse their struggles for social equality, and for the elimination of dependency and its symptoms: poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, etc.

Praxis

Praxis is the unity that should exist between what one does (practice) and what one thinks about what one does (theory). It is a complex activity by which individuals create culture and society, and become critically conscious human beings. Praxis comprises a cycle of action-reflection-action which is central to liberatory education. Characteristics of praxis include self-determination (as opposed to coercion), intentionality (as opposed to reaction), creativity (as opposed to homogeneity), and rationality (as opposed to chance). It is a common concept in Marxism, which is also called philosophy of praxis. It designates the reaction of man to his real conditions of existence, his capacity to insert himself in production (productive praxis) and in the transformation of society (revolutionary praxis).

Problematization

Problematization is the antithesis of "problem-solving." In problem-solving, an expert takes distance from reality and reduces it to dimensions which are amenable to treatment as though they were mere difficulties to be solved. To "problematize" is to engage a group in the task of codifying reality into symbols which can generate critical consciousness and empower them to alter their relations with nature and oppressive social forces. Problem-posing is a logically prior task which allows all previous conceptualizations of a problem to be treated as questionable. Problematization recognizes that "solutions" are often difficult because the wrong problems are being addressed.

Transformation of the World

To transform the world is to humanize it (see Humanization). All transformations do not result in

liberation. Transforming action could dehumanize the world with an oppressor's curious and inventive presence (e.g. the development of the V-2 rocket in World War II). Only history reveals the problematic nature of being human and the consequences of having chosen one path over the other. The transformation of the world is humankind's entry into history. As people act upon the world effectively, transforming it by work, consciousness is in turn historically and culturally conditioned. Conscientization is the result of action which transforms the world and leads to humanization.

NOTES

1. **Catholic Action:** - An organization set up by the Catholic Church in the 1920s to publicize Catholicism. It was formed by grassroots teams, diocesan, regional, and national federations and national councils. In the 1950s this group had an important role in the formation and organization of in the struggle for grassroots reforms.
2. **Jean Piaget (1896-1980) :-** A Swiss child psychologist famous for his research on the intelligence of children.
3. **MCP :-** MCP (Movement for Popular Culture) was the idea of Miguel Arraes, elected mayor of Recife in 1958. It consisted of the setting up of schools for the people, 'using rooms belong to neighborhood associations, sports clubs, and religious buildings. In 1960 just adult literacy schemes were working. In the following year, the Catholic Church set up the MEB—the Movement for Grassroots Education, which would involve not just literacy schemes but also schemes to bring awareness and to raise the cultural level of the mass of population, and thereby rescuing the essential connection between education and culture. From the time of its foundation, Paulo Freire participated in the MCP and elaborated his literacy method as part of the movement.

4. **ISEB :-** ISEB (Higher Institute for Brazilian Studies), set up by President Jascelino Kubitschek in July 1955, was closed down in April 1965 after the military coup. It comprised intellectuals who attempted to spread the social sciences as an instrument of analysis and of the critical understanding of the Brazilian situation. Important names are Alvaro Vieira Pinto, He1io Jaguaribe, Nelson Werneck Sodré, and Roland Corbisier. "Isebism" was characterized by the value it gave to the role of conscience and of ideology in Brazilian development. It attempted to construct a nonalienating Brazilian conscience. Left-wing critics of "isebism" tried to show its "liberal" presuppositions, that is, the "class alliance" that would be needed for national development.

5. **Studying :-** The Act of Studying really, a difficult task. It demands a critical and systematic position. It demands an intellectual discipline which can only be gained through practice. It is exactly what banking education fails to stimulate. On the contrary, its basis lies in killing curiosity, creativity, and any investigative spirit in the pupils. Its "discipline" is that of ingenuity before the text, in contrast to the critical element which should be necessary.

Seriously studying a text is to study the way in which the writer studied in order to write it. It means taking note of the *historicosociological* conditioning of *knowledge*. It means looking for relationships between the content under scrutiny and other connected areas of knowledge. Studying is a form of demanding, of recreating, of rewriting-a task for the subject and not for the object. Therefore, from this point of view, it is not possible for the student to get away from the text, to renounce a critical attitude toward it...

6. **Knowing :-** A look at the cycle of discovery reveals two moments, not more than two, that are dialectically related. The first moment of the cycle is the moment of production, production of a piece of knowledge, of something new. The other moment is when the piece of knowledge which has been produced is discovered or made known. What is generally done is to dichotomize these two moments, isolating them from each other. As a consequence, act of *discovering* existing knowledge is reduced to a mere transference of existing knowledge. And the teacher becomes the specialist in transferring knowledge. Consequently, some of the necessary and indispensable qualities which are required in the production of knowledge are lost, as it happens also in the discovery of existing knowledge. Some of these qualities, for example, are action, critical reflection, curiosity, a demanding questioning, worry, uncertainty—all these virtues are indispensable to understand the knowledge. Moreover, when the production of knowledge is separated from the *discovery* of already existing knowledge, schools become easily transformed into shops for the sale of knowledge, which is part of capitalist ideology. Study is not an act of consuming ideas, but rather one of creating them and recreating them.
7. **USAID :-** The United States Agency for International Development—was the executive organ of the policy which had been set by the Alliance for Progress to modernize the educational systems of the countries of the so-called Third World. It made a large number of agreements and technical cooperation links with the Ministry of Education and Culture, the MEC-USAID

programs, especially in the sixties, when the U.S. was exporting reforms that had taken place in the twenties and which had been designed to preserve the structure behind a democratic facade with equality of opportunities and technical-financial cooperation.

8. **Salvador Allende :-** In 1970 Salvador Allende came to power at the head of Popular Unity, with its project for a pacific transition to socialism. Popular Unity was opposed by the Chilean Right and by North American imperialism, which organized opposition to the socialist government and which managed to overthrow Allende through the coup of September 11, 1973.

Books by Paulo Freire

Paulo Freire was an indefatigable writer about his work and thought. He wrote mostly in Portuguese and was also published in Portuguese. His first book, on adult education, was published in Portuguese in 1958. Many of his books, not all, were later translated into English. Sometimes, the original meaning of the Portuguese title written by Freire could not be maintained in its English translation. For instance, 'A sombra desta mangueira' ('In the shadow of this mango tree') has been translated as 'Pedagogy of the Heart'. Likewise, 'Pedagogia da Autonomia' has been translated as 'Pedagogy of Freedom' and in its second edition (2001) it includes the subtitle of 'Ethics, Democracy and Civic Courage'. Keeping in view the above departures from the original titles in Portuguese, wherever happened, a list of books, both translated version and original one, by Paulo Freire in English is given below. However, the list is not exhaustive but selective.

Books by Paulo Freire

- 1. Education as a Practice of Freedom(1967)**
- 2. Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1970)**
- 3. Cultural Action for Freedom (1970)**
- 4. Extension or Communication ? (1973)**

5. **Education for Critical Consciousness (1973)**
6. **Pedagogy in Process :Letters to Guinea-Bssau (1978)**
7. **The importance of the act of reading (1983).**
8. **The Politics of Education : Culture, Power and Liberation (1985).**
9. **Pedagogy of the City (1993)**
10. **Pedagogy of Hope : Reliving Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1994)**
11. **Letters to Cristina : Reflections on My Life and Work (1995)**
12. **The Pedagogy of Autonomy: Necessary Knowledge that Leads you the Educational Practice (1996)**
13. **Pedagogy of the Heart (1997)**
14. **Teachers As Cultural Workers : Letters to Those Who Dare To Teach (1998)**

Books by Paulo Freire in collaboration with others

15. With D. Macedo. **Literacy : Reading the word and the world (1987)**
16. With I. Shor. **A Pedagogy for Liberation : Dialogues on Transforming Education (1987)**
17. With I. Shor. **Freire for the Classroom : A Sourcebook for Liberatory Teaching (1987)**
18. With H. Giroux & P. McLaren. **Teachers as Intellectuals : Towards a Critical Pedagogy of Learning (1988)**

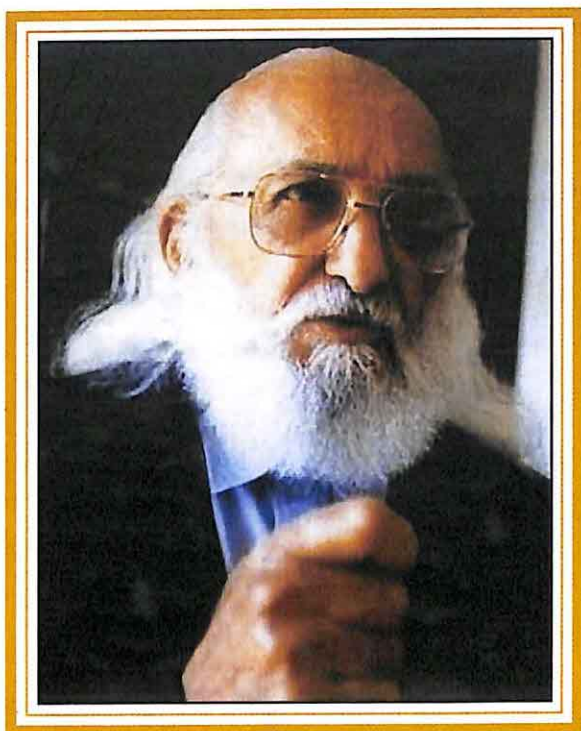
19. With I. Shor. **Cultural Wars: School and Society in the Conservative Restoration 1969-1984 (1988)**
20. With Antonio Faundez. **Learning to Question : A Pedagogy for Liberation (1989)**
21. With M.Horton et. Al. **We make the road by walking : Conservations on Education and Social Change (1990)**
22. With J. Fraser et al. **Mentoring the mentor: A Critical Dialogue with Paulo (1990)**
23. With M. Escobar & G.Guevara Niebla. **Paulo Freire on Higher Education: A Dialogue at the National University of Mexico (1994)**
24. With Donaldo Macedo. **Ideology Matters. (1997)**
25. With S. Aronwitz. **Pedagogy of Freedom : Ethics, Democracy and Civic Courage(1998)**



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Not many books are available on Paulo Freire, specially in English. However, a few books delineating the biography, work and thought of Paulo Freire are available in USA and other foreign countries. Among these, two books are almost indispensable for collecting reliable information about Paulo Freire. These two books are, namely,—(1) **Reading Paulo Freire : His Life and Work** by Moacir Gadotti (Translated by John Milton), State University of New York Press, 1994, and (2) **Paulo Freire : His Life, Work and Thought** by Denis E. Collins, Paulist Press, N.Y., 1997. The writer wishes to express his indebtedness to these two books and its authors for his high dependence in writing the present book. Deep gratitude is also expressed to the articles and its authors, namely,—(1) **Paulo Freire : A Homage** by Moacir Gadotti and Carlos Alberto Torres and (2) **Issues in Freirean Pedagogy** by Tom Heany. Needless to mention that no book can be written without going through the books by Paulo Freire himself. Apart from a host of books by Paulo Freire, the writer deeply desires to register his gratefulness specially to the following four books by Paulo Freire because of its use as source books. These books by Paulo Freire are, namely— (1) **Education for Critical Consciousness** (1973), (2) **Cultural Action for Freedom** (1972), (3) **Pedagogy of the Oppressed** (1970), and (4) **Pedagogy of Hope** (1994).

Paulo Freire



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